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241 196 619 634 184 [613] 4. Idma:

The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Monday: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'nd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] [613] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irrigation: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur.

[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

[578] [262] [613] Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a. Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur; dinner of porridge the night of the innair.

Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

[578] [262] [541] Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; irrigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr; battle by blows with clumps of grass.

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796 exceptional. In most cases, one can only conjecture the motives
613 of the vocations: antiquity, whence legitimacy (theme of the autochthony); holiness, power, or, on the contrary, sanctimonious poverty. There one certainly touches an old, but defaced and almost unintelligible foundation. There remains concretely only a notion of unequal qualification among ikhs-s.

The meaning attributed to this practice of the initium is also unclear. One expects good augury from it: it is the type of very vague benefit that is also attributed to other agrarian ceremonies: those of the yenneyr, of the amâchur, or of this tafaska with a name almost certainly Mediterranean ("la Pâque" /Passover/).
[777] But no more. These practices are qualified as idolatry, açnâm, even by their faithful, who can very well and spontaneously distinguish them from the rites of orthodoxy, from the cult of the saints, or from communal practices.

Here it cannot be a question of analyzing the subjective aspect of these practices. Besides, differences between them are
[782] evident. The libations of ifyed', where they are practiced, owe to the demonologic reference their characteristic precision and liveliness. Whether the interpretation is a good one is another
• [541] question. On the other hand, the battles by blows with clods of earth, bunches of nettles, jars of water (1)

1. Good observations by F. Gorjon, "Les rites du feu et de l'eau chez les Berbères du Maroc /Fire and water rites among the Berbers of Morocco/," Bull. EPM, 1952, pp. 199 sq. (for a region very close to ours).

are in the province of games and tend to affect only the youth in
191 Seksawa, like our carnival. Elsewhere, on the contrary, among the Frûga, for example, the ceremony unleashes the whole community for a day, and the aspersions are mixed with equestrian contests. Everyone has his opinion on these practices. The superstitious, the joker, the strong-willed, the village bumpkin,

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ccc infinite art of gaining trust would be necessary in order to collect such testimony suitably. But what fruit the "confession" of the fettered one of the Tamejlocht or of the hoe depositer of Tamd'a Ugenni would be!

114 What to say about customs like the one of the seasonal carnival such as I was able to observe October 7, 1949, at Ikis, an archaic village rising in tiers on the flank of the Tanddri, and which its agadir dominated? Here are some notes taken on the spot.

541 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "In all the Seksawa villages, the first two days of the Âid are taken up with Saturnalia. The skins of sacrificed [292] animals are donned. They are sewed as clown costumes with pantaloons (1),

1. And not as robes, as in the masquerade of the tanners of Fès /Fez/.

and put on by a few agile and resolute chaps. Throughout the [534] day, there are parades, exhibitions, playlets, capers, the whole [535] put to rhythm by the tambourin and coming back constantly to the dance, a dance of stamping with scansion on the palms of the hands (2).

[171] 2. The Andalusian zapateado is evoked. Nothing is more curious than to compare, without any preconceived ideas, certain disguises of the Gund'afa, for example, from the fine photographs by Besancenot, and the drawings of masks that Caro Baroja gives in his book Pueblos de España, 1946.

"On this day at Ikis, I am on a terrace overlooking from a height of six floors the bottom of the valley and its small parcels. To the left, the agadir, overwhelmed by the enormous crest of

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541 the Tanddri; to the right and opposite, the brows that separate us from Igersafen. On a terrace, the multicolored swarm of women.

[536] About ten jolly fellows did not spare themselves in gags lasting two hours: scene of the selling of almonds to a Jew; of the cow that could not be milked; of the sacrifice to the santon, with a burlesque procession; of a conjugal dispute, with the simulated death of the wife, resurrection, reconciliation; scene of jealousy; the rages of the little old man. And here is hyperbolic prayers; in Arab sonorities more or less caricatured, the Allah Akbar, in all the tones of mystic élan, of tartufery, etc. It is a veritable commedia dell'arte where one improvises. With success, if one judges by the laughter of the audience. The scene is expected to be prolonged by obscenities and unbridled fantasy. Veritable theatrical sense and extraordinary freedom of spirit. Already personalities having their characters: the birth of tragedy in the most etymological sense of the term."

121 /253/ And undoubtedly we shall not solve the matter of
541 knowing if there truly is seasonal magic here, or whether evolution has not for a long time degraded the meaning of the rite up to its being no more than an advance toward our own carnival (1).

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541 1. The literature, quite abundant, on the "Berbère /Berber/ carnival" has not solved the problem. Note the quasi identity of the scenes of burlesque comedy described by S. Biarnay, Notes d'ethnographie et de linguistique nord-africaines /Notes on North African ethnography and linguistics/, 1924, pp. 79 sq., for an entirely different milieu. All that one can say is that the custom is not, even in the details, peculiar to the Atlas, any more than it is to the Berbères. As much could be said for almost all that comes out at a certain ethnographical level, more or less preserved according to the regions, but which seems to be common to all of North Africa.

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of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that for them the Iron Age has come.

Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be, rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa, who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igezzoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi ʿAli, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the

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great mouggar /fair/ of the Tazerwalt celebrated twice a year is, moreover, the scene of holy contests, in the course of which warriors sometimes die, whom Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa carries away into paradise.

Thanks to the enormous prestige of their family, these marabouts were thus able to exercise a veritable sovereign power, and the most energetic of them, effortlessly concentrating religious and temporal authority at the same time, had "heads and hands cut off" as they liked (2).

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2. Relation of Sidi Brahim de Massat /Account of Sidi Brahim of Massat/, R. Basset trans., p. 14.

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Natural arbitrators of the soffs, they thus held a royalty removed from the very manifest fragility of the Berbère /Berber/ tyrannies.

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Nevertheless, in our day the decline of these descendants of the Berbère /Berber/ kings of the seventeenth century is definitive. It is they themselves, in rallying to the Makhzen /makhzan/, who deserved to be attacked by popular indifference. Like many independent amghars of the Atlas, they lost all influence after one of them, Sidi Hosein, made himself the advisor of the sultan Moulay el Hasan in the Sous. In our day the successors of the autochthonous kings of the Sous humbly solicit from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the confirmation of their personal privileges /325/ and with difficulty manage to preserve at the tomb of their ancestor the cult that in former times was the glory of the Tazerwalt.

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If the tribes' confidence in the amghars endowed with the most venerated "baraka" of the South of Morocco is easily lost, one understands how it can abandon still more rapidly the temporal leaders, masters of small states conquered by violence. Having reached the degree of development that we have just studied, the amghar in fact strays more and more from the traditional milieu out of which he came; he feels attracted to the Makhzen /makhzan/, which gladly seeks to utilize his power for its ends, much more than he is tempted to remain, in the eyes of the people, the defender of the mountains' independence.